



Director of  
Central  
Intelligence

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# National Intelligence Daily

***Monday  
11 January 1982***

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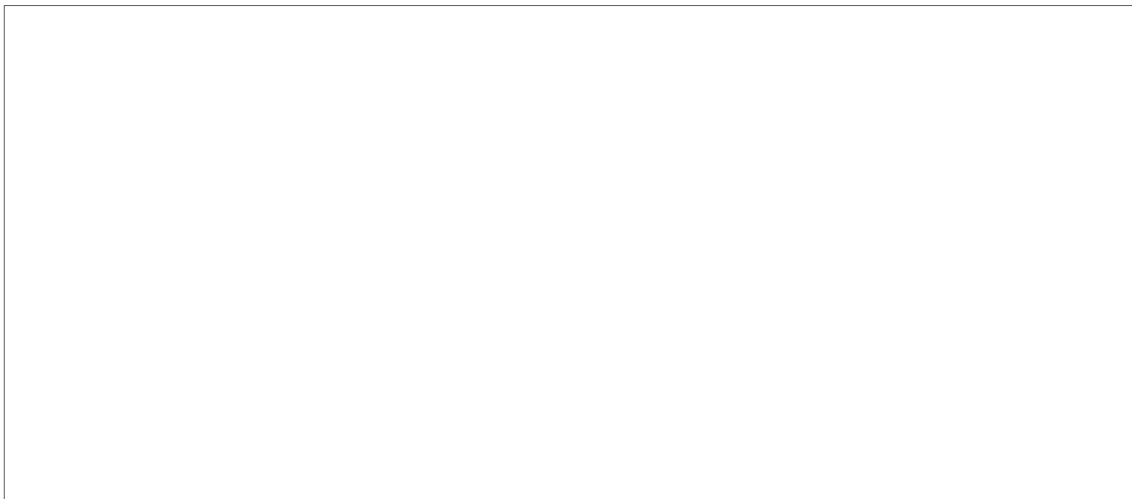
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## ① POLAND: Readying Government Programs

*Premier Jaruzelski will present his political and economic program to the parliament next week. Pope John Paul II and Polish Church leaders have become increasingly irritated at martial law restrictions.*

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*The Soviets are continuing their efforts to influence today's NATO meeting. West German Foreign Minister Genscher issued a tough statement to counter the perception that Bonn is reluctant to take action against Warsaw or Moscow.*

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A government spokesman told a press conference on Saturday that Premier Jaruzelski will present his political and economic program to the parliament about 20 January. A Polish official told a US Embassy officer recently that there has been some slippage in making this program public because Jaruzelski wants it to be a comprehensive statement with deadlines and target dates for achievements. The parliament will also reportedly pass into law the decrees announced by the martial law authorities.

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Comment: Another reason for the delay probably is that Jaruzelski is receiving conflicting advice. Although he is said to favor continuing the process of reform, there undoubtedly are many who want to rescind the concessions made under Solidarity's pressure and possibly outlaw the union entirely.

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Even the moderates among the authorities seem to believe that Solidarity's activities must be curtailed. In particular, they want to prevent intellectuals from playing a leading role in the union. They probably hope that a workers' union forced to concentrate on economic issues will be easier to control.

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Solidarity leader Walesa, other union leaders, and the Church are unlikely to accept such a subservient role for Solidarity. It seems likely that they will try to circumvent government restrictions.

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The parliament, which had begun to show some independence before the imposition of martial law, is unlikely to resist the requests of martial law authorities. It could make the suspension of Solidarity permanent by enacting the suspension decree of 13 December. 

Church Frustration

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1-8 Pope John Paul II denounced the martial law crack-down in Poland yesterday in the harshest terms to date, saying that the campaign of forcing workers to sign loyalty oaths violated their human rights. In speaking to university rectors last week, Archbishop Glemp was "extremely" pessimistic about prospects for the next few years and said that Church-state relations are much worse than is generally believed. Bishop Dabrowski, a close associate of Glemp, reportedly will travel to Rome this week. 


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Comment: The Pope and Glemp are increasingly frustrated that the regime shows so little willingness to talk with the Church or moderate its policies. The Pope may be particularly irritated that his request for better communications with Glemp has not been answered. Glemp probably used his meeting with Jaruzelski on Saturday to get the latest reading on the Premier's intentions. 

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Soviet Activity and Commentary

*Pravda* yesterday published the most authoritative Soviet commentary on events in Poland since the imposition of martial law. An article by "A. Petrov," a pseudonym representing a high level of the Soviet leadership, repeated charges made at less authoritative levels that the crisis is due largely to US manipulation of "counter-revolutionary" forces, that the US is attempting to impose its policies on its NATO allies, and that Washington now rejects the idea of a strategic balance between East and West.

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1-4  
Comment: The timing of the article suggests that its primary purpose is to influence West European attendees at today's meeting of NATO foreign ministers to resist participation in US sanctions. It is also probably intended to support Polish hardliners by stressing the external causes of the crisis there. A third purpose may be to warn the Soviet public that US policies could require additional military spending at the expense of Soviet consumers.

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Strong West German Reaction

West German Foreign Minister Genscher yesterday stated publicly that the situation in Poland is "not improving, but getting increasingly worse." He emphasized the USSR's "grave responsibility" for events in Poland, and stated his expectation that the Allies will adopt "a clear position" at today's NATO ministerial.

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Comment: Genscher is concerned by widespread Western criticisms--especially by the US media--of West Germany's perceived reluctance to take any actions against Warsaw or Moscow. He probably believes that a strongly worded Alliance statement will increase pressure on Jaruzelski to keep his promises to continue reforms. At a minimum, Genscher does not want Bonn to be blamed for any impasse at the meeting, especially so soon after he and Chancellor Schmidt publicly proclaimed that their views have converged with those of Washington.

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